The du Bois Clubs and Freedom of Dissent, P. 2

Lighter Moments of the Washington Establishment in the Johnson Era

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Sen. and Mrs. Frank Church, the Spanish Ambassador and the Marquesa de Merry del Val and Kuwait Ambassador and Mrs. Al-Ghoussein were among those joining in the laughter at another skit featuring Batman as "The one secret weapon the President and he alone has the power to use." When Jack Valenti, dressed as Robin, rushes out on the stage and tells Batman the president wants to send both of them to Vietnam, Batman exclaims, "He must be out of his mind! Why don't you send General Gavin—I see. Yes, Chief, if you say so. (He turns to Robin) He says if we don't go to Vietnam he'll pre-empt our television time."

—"MS (Multiple Sclerosis benefit) Show Turns Into A Side-Splitter," Washington Star Society page, March 5.

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. XIV, NO. 10 MARCH 14, 1966 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

If We Drop The Bombs on China

The key to the drift toward war with China is the comfortable assumption that in case of need we can—in the imbecile jargon of the Pentagon — "drop the Nuks." The "Nuks" are, of course, nuclear weapons. They are counted on to save us from the giant task of slugging it out on the ground with a country 10,000 miles away and a population almost four times our own. This could bleed our best youth for a generation in a new and more terrible Thirty Years' War. Three factors are excluded from these smug genocidal calculations, and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee ought to look into them in its current China hearings. The first is what a nuclear attack on China would do to the menace of radioactivity world-wide. The second is the radioactive damage it might impose on China's neighbors, our allies, and especially on Japan. The third is that the nuclear weapon is weakest and no substitute for ground forces in dealing with widely dispersed agrarian societies like China.

The Retribution We Risk

One scientist the Committee ought to call is Dr. Ralph E. Lapp. Last spring *Life* Magazine commissioned him to do a preview of a nuclear attack on China. In the days when Dr. Lapp was a pioneer in awakening the public to the danger of fallout, *Life* was unfriendly to him. Henry Luce's hero then was Dr. Teller and the scientific Dr. Strangeloves who were telling us that we had nothing to fear from continued testing in the atmosphere. But when *Life* wanted a nuclear expert whose views commanded respect to throw a scare into the Chinese, it picked Dr. Lapp. He sketched out an attack in the late 60s (*Life,* May 28, 1965) in which 200 B-52s, each carrying two 25-megaton bombs, dropped 10,000 megatons on China. This would have to be largely by "surface" bursts to maximize radioactivity as a population killer. This would, then, Dr. Lapp wrote, kill 350,000,000 Chinese—or about half its people—and severely injure 100 million more. What he did not discuss, and what *Life* did not want discussed, because that would scare Americans, too, is what the explosion of 10,000 megatons would do to world fallout. The total of all atmospheric tests was about 500 megatons, and we still don't know what that has done to world health. A 10,000 megaton bombardment of China would increase world radioactivity by 20 times or more. And if the momentum of war seized us we could drop much more on China. We have, we learned at the Pentagon, roughly 600 B-52s. With those alone, without counting the missiles, we could dump 30,000 megatons on China. No one knows how many people would die from cancer elsewhere as a result of the fallout in a kind of cosmic retribution for the suffering imposed on China.

The country most in danger, meteorologists tell us, would be Japan. The winds in North China above the 30th parallel blow west to east. Japan is in their path. The surface bursts necessary as a population killer would move westward with the winds. Depending on the winds, these deadly clouds of local fallout would travel anywhere from 200 to 1,000 miles. From Shanghai to the nearest part of southern Japan would be about 550 miles. What the intermediate fallout might do elsewhere in adjoining Asia, particularly in the Southeast with its freak monsoon wind patterns, nobody knows. There would, Dr. Lapp informed us, be "acute danger" to Japan.

The problem is made the more difficult, Dr. Lapp explains,

(Continued on Page Four)

How Can McNamara Be So Blind?

After his appearance in executive session before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee March 3, Secretary McNamara released to the press his prepared responses to ten basic questions about the war. We invite attention to his answer to the first question, "What is the true nature of the conflict in South Vietnam?" To read it is to make one feel that Mr. McNamara is nowhere near as bright as he is cracked up to be. For he paints the war, without qualification whatsoever, as simply and purely a case of aggression **from the north. The hold of the Viet Cong is attributed entirely to terror. It would be hard to find a single scholar in the field who would support such sweepingly unqualified statements. They recall the remark quoted by David Halberstam in his book on Vietnam that McNamara understands everything but men and ideas. Unfortunately that is what the war is all about. McNamara's appalling oversimplifications raise the most serious questions. If we are confronted merely with aggression and terror, why did so many American officials over the years press Diem for social and economic reforms to win the people from the Viet Cong? Why did Johnson press Ky for such reforms at Honolulu?**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Attorney General Mixes The Fallacious With The Disingenuous

Why The Attack on the Du Bois Clubs Is An Attack on Freedom of Debate

The Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Jewish Community in Germany, Dr. Hendrik van Dam, commenting on the indifference of the West German press to an official report showing neo-Nazi activities on the increase, said, "Most people in Germany are blind in the right eye." (*New York Times,* March 6). The United States, too, seems to be blind in the right eye. While all kinds of Fascistic organizations flourish on the right, from Birchites to Minutemen, the only time the government ever acts against "subversion" is on the Left, though the revolutionary left is minuscule compared to the conspiratorial and anti-democratic right.

Birchites Strangely Invisible

We're not advocating the suppression of anyone's views. We're just noting a fact of life. The Birchites and half a dozen varieties of "Christian" organizations have no trouble spreading all kinds of un-American and anti-Semitic paranoias on the radio. Klansmen make bombs and Minutemen train with guns. But the FBI and the government are notoriously blind to the right-wing activities. It's only where Leftists are concerned that they go into action, as the Attorney General did in the case against the W.E.B. du Bois Clubs.

We don't like the du Bois clubs. They're the stale Old Left, not the New. W. E. B. du Bois was one of the great Negroes of our time. But he came back from his education in Germany before World War I with the temperament of a Prussian. He was authoritarian and Stalinist by instinct long before he joined the Communist Party. He was prepared to accept and rationalize all the repressions and horrors committed by Stalin in the name of socialism, and the clubs which bear his name have the same orientation. We saw a whole generation of radicals swallow the most monumental lies out of Moscow, and we hate to see young people recruited to the same kind of subservience to neo-Stalinist party line.

But what one thinks of the du Bois Clubs is irrelevant to the action begun against it by the government. Every principled liberal and radical must support them in their fight against the petition filed by the Attorney General. This is the first line of battle against any attempt to revive McCarthyism as a way of intimidating those who oppose the war. Mr. Katzenbach's statement defending the action combines the fallacious with the disingenuous.

"Historically," the Attorney General said, "Americans have the freedom to organize in dissent. At the same time, in accordance with the law, young people who might consider joining this organization are entitled to know its nature and sponsorship. This is a disclosure, not a criminal action. Registration does not imply illegality and does not curtail an organization's activities. . . ."

Mr. Katzenbach knows better. The Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, as Truman protested in his unsuccessful veto, *is* an attempt to limit freedom of dissent. Young people do not need the FBI or the Attorney General to let them know what they are joining. Just where the du Bois Clubs stand in the spectrum of the Left is well understood. Those who agree with the Clubs have a right to join them. The effort to make the Clubs register with the Subversive Activities Control Board is more than a disclosure move. The act denies many rights to members of registered organizations, from the right to travel to the right to work in defense plants. Registration implies illegality and was intended by Nixon and Mundt, the original sponsors of this law, to create an official blacklist, subjecting those on it to ostracism and loss of employment. Registration does curtail activity because it requires the registered organization to label its publications and broadcasts as "communistic." Registration is calculated to put them out of business and make marked men of their members.

The damage is not limited to the du Bois Clubs. It must cast a pall on all dissent from the Left, and was so intended. The Act's modus operandi had its roots in the failure of the government to find evidence that the Communists were engaged in any illegal activities—as Klansmen, for example, are when they make bombs. Nor was the government able to muster the evidence required to prove the Communists agents of Moscow under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. So the 1950 Act was based on parallelism of opinion. Registration was required where an organization's opinions paralleled those of Moscow.

An Easy 64-Piastre Question

"One prime task of a pacification team is to undertake 'census grievance,' in which they attempt to learn from the peasants what are the real complaints and aspirations of a hamlet. If a real complaint is the performance of a district or province chief, what happens next?"

—Charles Mohr from Saigon "Pacification Will Be A Long Hard Road" in New York Times, March 6.

You shoot the complainer as a suspected Red.

Conviction by Parallelism

The trouble with conviction by parallelism should be clear from the Attorney General's petition. This cites, as proof of Communist domination over the du Bois Clubs, the positions they have taken "on nuclear testing, alleged colonial and neo-colonial exploitation, the institution of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and with Cuba, the admission of China to the United Nations, the removal of the U.S. Naval Base from Guantanamo, and the lifting of travel restrictions to Cuba, China and North Vietnam."

Many people in the political center and even some on the moderate right hold one or several of these views. How much parallelism must there be to make one suspect? Is it a free society when the government by such actions can put certain opinions outside the pale? Does this not put the country on notice that it is dangerous to hold certain opinions? What McCarthy and the Un-American Activities Committee tried to do by putting people in the pillory before Congressional investigators, the government is again trying to do by bringing the du Bois Clubs before the Subversive Activities Control Board. The very name of this monstrosity is alien to a free society. What seems subversive to one man may seem deeply loyal to another. The truth was supposed to be determined by free discussion, not by government blacklisting. What poorer way to win back alienated youth than by engaging in such efforts at thought control?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How "Pacification" May Be Used to Ensure Saigon's Victory in Any Vietnam Poll

Guatemala Shows How to Make A Cynical Farce of Free Elections

We must leave our comment on the outcome of the Guatemalan elections until next week, when final returns are available. In the meantime it is worth examining into the background of these "free elections," the first since 1958, to see how the transition from military dictatorship can be accomplished with minimum risk to U.S. interests and their native allies, in a colonial country like Guatemala under our domination.

"Framing" A Constitution

In the first place the elections are being held under a new constitution drafted by a Constituent Assembly of 80 members. Sixty were chosen by Guatemala's military dictatorship. Two others parties were allowed to nominate ten members each, but their nominees too had to be approved by the military. The result was a constitution which makes it harder than before to get the agrarian reform the country needs, and tightens up regulations designed to prevent free organization of political parties.

In accordance with this Constitution not only Communists and Socialists but moderate reformist parties like the Guatemalan Social Party and the Christian Democrats, were barred from the elections. The Christian Democrats were founded by conservatives after our CIA helped the United Fruit Company to overthrow Arbenz in 1954 and get rid of his agrarian reform. But in 1964 the party was taken over by socially-minded Catholics, advocating agrarian reform and state direction of the economy. Only three parties were allowed to take part in the election, the Institutional Democratic Party, formed by the military and its well-to-do supporters; the Movement of National Liberation, a rightist split-off group within the upper class which has ruled the country since 1954; and the Revolutionary Party, which is referred to as "Leftist" in the U.S. press but cooperated with the military in the farce of the Constituent Assembly. Its Leftism is indicated by its advocacy of economic development supported by private enterprise. Even if its candidate wins, United Fruit need not fear for its bananas.

We may be sure the U.S. Embassy in Guatemala played its part in this "guided" democracy, and that the U.S. Embassy in Saigon will see its applicability in South Vietnam. There a new wrinkle is being introduced in the shape of the CIA-trained "pacification" squads. Their main job will be to root out suspected Viet Cong sympathizers in the villages. We'd hate to see CIA-trained squads allowed to determine what Americans can be allowed to take part in political activity, and we can easily imagine the results in Vietnam. When the suspects have been gotten rid of and the rest intimidated, South Vietnam, too, may be as safe as Guatemala for "free elections."

Democracy in Action—Brazilian Style

Rio de Janeiro, March 4—An Army colonel was reported today to have forced the aldermen of a small town in Rio de Janeiro state to elect leaders supported by him. The pro-government paper, Jornal do Brasil, said the colonel, commander of an armed car squadron, surrounded the City Hall of Barra do Pirai with 800 men and presented his list of candidates.

The action took place a few days after President Castello Branco had declared in a major speech that democracy existed in Brazil and said the fundamental institutions of democracy were being preserved.

—Baltimore Sun's own Rio bureau, March 5.

Time to Find Out Whether Our Government Finances Assassinations

Both the Senate and the House Appropriations Committees have subcommittees which pass on the CIA. The existence of these subcommittees is always cited whenever someone proposes that a special joint committee be established to supervise CIA operations. The members of the Senate subcommittee, so we were told after a curious delay possibly for clearance higher-up, are Senators Hayden, Russell, Saltonstall and Young of North Dakota. The membership of the House subcommittee, so Chief Clerk Kenneth Sprankle informed us, is a secret. We suggest that members of the House and Senate who have campaigned over the years for some Congressional check on CIA activities, ask their respective subcommittees to investigate and report on the communique issued by the Cuban government March 5 alleging that the CIA put up $100,000 in a plot to assassinate Fidel Castro. The U.S. Embassy official in Madrid alleged to have handed over the money and two alleged Cuban employes of the CIA were named. There is no reason why either or both of the CIA subcommittees could not at least stage secret hearings and report publicly to the Congress. If the CIA does not engage in assassination, it should itself welcome such investigation.

The Cuban government in the past has proven better informed than the American public on CIA activities aimed to overthrow it. We believe the charges should be taken seriously. To let them pass without a demand in Congress for investigation is to encourage the CIA in the "dirty tricks" of which it boasts. There are many in Africa who blame our government for the murder of Lumumba and many in Southeast Asia who believe we encouraged the murder of Diem. If nothing more, a demand that the subcommittees investigate would put them as well as the CIA on the spot, dramatize the weak supervision they give CIA and strengthen the case for a special supervisory committee. The question is not whether the U.S. likes Fidel Castro but whether we are so far gone in lawlessness that we would secretly finance his murder.

More CIA Dirty Tricks?

Madrid (AP)—Unexplained and continuing mishaps to ships being built for Cuba in Spanish yards suggests that anti-Castro sabotage is involved. In one year 5 ships under construction for Cuba's merchant fleet suffered damaging "accidents" in which four Spanish shipyard workers lost their lives and nine suffered injuries. . . . It is rumored but unproven that anti-Castro leader Manuel Artime [the CIA's fair-haired boy at the Bay of Pigs—IFS] has recruited agents here to sabotage Castro's ship-building program in Spain.

—Richard Mowrer in York, Pa., Gazette & Daily, Mar. 7.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Not Strange That China, Too, Wants A Nuclear Deterrent

(Continued from Page One)

because so little is known about "intermediate" fallout in the 1,000 mile range. We know a good deal about "local" fallout, which may extend for hundreds of miles. We know a good deal about stratospheric world-wide fallout. But there is little unclassified material at least on the "intermediate" fallout. This and the "local" fallout would represent a danger of unknown dimensions in Japan. This is why we proposed last week—as a brake on the war machine—that an international body of scientists begin a study of what various levels of attack on China would do to the adjoining countries and to the world health picture. Dr. Lapp began urging such a study of the effects of nuclear war years ago. The Japanese, for their own safety, ought to initiate it now.

No Pushbutton Victory

It is our hope, in opening up these insane perspectives of an insane world order, to raise the pressure for peace from Japan and the rest of Asia, and to explode the delusion that if worst comes to the worst we could destroy China by distant pushbutton without danger to ourselves and our allies. This brings us to the third factor, China's lesser vulnerability to nuclear attack. In this year's posture hearings, Secretary McNamara gave some figures on what we could do in retaliation if the Soviet Union attacked first. These figures show how much more vulnerable the Soviet Union is than China. McNamara speaks of destroying one-third the population and one-half the industrial capacity of the Soviet Union in an attack on its major urban centers. The attack he sketches on 50 Chinese urban centers would destroy half China's industry but only 50 million of its 700 to 800 million people. Very dense and radioactively "dirty" bombing is needed to cripple a largely rural and agrarian society like China's. It could carry on guerrilla war for years even after destruction of its cities. The level of nuclear attack necessary really to destroy China would create a radioactive menace to Japan and a world health problem. If such considerations impose limits on nuclear attack, we confront the formidable task of occupying China and subduing its superior numbers. This is where we are being led in that "open-ended" conflict in Asia against which the Mansfield report warned us.

Secretary McNamara told the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy at the hearings on non-proliferation March 7 that China was imposing hunger on its people to develop nuclear weapons. But it is the fear of attack from us which leads China to strain every muscle in this task. Our military philosophy is based on nuclear deterrence. It is the mutual balance of terror that keeps us and the Russians at a fearful standoff. The Chinese want the deterrent, too. They have far more reason to fear us than we have to fear them. They are only striving to apply the murderous lesson we are teaching. It's McNamara-ism not Marxism-Leninism.

Marines Let Slip What Rusk Tries to Deny

Sec. RUSK: We are not putting ourselves in the position of the gendarmes of the universe. . . . We are not trying to impose a Pax Americana on the world. . . .

Sen. FULBRIGHT: You deny that there is a Pax Americana, but the fact is we have troops in Europe, Korea, Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. We have military missions in half the nations of the word. . . .

Sen. AIKEN: And are we bound to fight communism wherever it exists?

Sec. RUSK: No, sir, no sir. . . . What we are talking about Senator is that where Communist countries undertake to commit aggression against those to whom the U.S. has undertaken a clear commitment to an alliance, that there we have a duty to assist our allies.

Sen. AIKEN: That would include what, about 80 or 90 countries in the world?

Sec. RUSK: No, sir. This would include just over 40 countries.

Sen. AIKEN: Only 40?

Sec. RUSK: That is right.

—Sen. For. Relations hearings on Vietnam, Part 1.

"U.S. MARINES WANT YOU. The Pax Romana was the longest period of tranquillity the civilized world has ever known. This peace was won and maintained by the Roman citizen soldier who, in the time of need, came to the aid of his nation. Today the Marine Corps needs its citizen soldiers, its Reservists, to come to the aid of our nation and the free world."

—Page 1 appeal in The Reserve Marine, *Jan. 1966.*

We'll Be Glad to Send A Sample Copy of This Issue To A Friend — Send A Stamped Addressed Envelope

I. F. Stone's Weekly 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W. Washington, D. C. 20015

Please renew (or enter) a sub for the enclosed $5:

Name .....

Street .....

City .....**Zone**.....**State**.....

8/14/66

For the enclosed $5 send a gift sub to:

(To) Name .....

Street .....

City .....**Zone**.....**State**.....

For $5.35 extra send I. F. Stone's *The Haunted Fifties*

Indicate if announcement wished ☐

I. F. Stone's Weekly
5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20015

Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

NEWSPAPER

I. F. Stone's Weekly. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Published every Monday except in August, the last week in December and the first week in January and Bi-Weekly during July at 5618 Nebraska Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. An independent weekly published and edited by I. F. Stone; Circulation Manager, Esther M. Stone. Subscription: $5 in the U.S.; $6 in Canada; $10 elsewhere. Air Mail rates: $15 to Europe; $20 to Israel, Asia and Africa.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED